1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

According to the April 1957, official records, 36 ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

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ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-F]

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ABOVE: Transporting pig to market.
BELOW: Worship after sale of pig.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

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ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi. [178] [494]

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride. [782]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the
585 Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several vil-
581 lagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is
612 agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
191 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
[777] luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
[494] separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

207 1,402,000 in 1967 (1969:782) and television sets, from
511 16,000 in 1963 to 164,000 in 1967 (1969:784). Figures for Sanlei indicate the village has shared this growth pattern. The number of radios increased from less than a dozen in 1953 to 41 in 1966. Two out of every three households now have a radio and since radios are played loudly, the village is rarely silent during the day or evening. Two television sets were installed in 1965. The one at the village store faces the street so that a group of villagers can watch the programs.

40 Other items may also indicate both the level of
412 prosperity and the kind of economic activities. Among the
• 493 409 people (66 households) there are 5 motorcycles, 69
511 bicycles, 30 sewing machines, 55 clocks, 37 electric fans, and 15 electric rice steamers. Farming equipment includes 9 threshing machines, 18 plows, 7 winnowers, 39 insecticide sprayers, 8 hand harrows, 7 foot harrows, and 161 hoes. Since almost everyone is a part-time farmer, there are only about five households in the village without a hoe although a hoe is the only piece of farm equipment
426 owned in several households. Borrowing tools from relatives, friends, and sworn brothers is a regular custom.

511 Every household appears overcrowded with furniture,
352 tables, benches, chairs, cabinets, etc. Beds usually con-
513 sist of a straw mat or a tatami (hard thin straw mattress) on a wooden platform. Some beds are quite large; occasionally, a single bed may exceed 8' by 10'.

261 is not sufficiently nourishing; also, it should be denied
855 to small children along with other liquids in the evening
252 in order to prevent bed wetting. Rice was usually steamed or boiled; it was only fried for a dish at a banquet or when mixed with left-overs for lunch.

262 Almost every meal also included liberal quantities of vegetables which were lightly cooked and were usually placed on top of the rice to eat. The particular vegetables were drawn from those that were in season. Although many of them were grown in the village, others were purchased in Hsin Tien. Men were asked to shop on the way
262 home from work or a trip to town. If a woman went to
443 town, she usually shopped for herself and several others.
462 One village man drove his three-wheeled bicycle cart into
[493] the Taipei market each morning about 3:30 a.m. and bought a load of vegetables and pedaled home. After he left Hsin Tien, he stopped in each small village or group of houses other than the two villages with vegetable markets and sold produce from the cart. As he got closer to Sanlei, he lowered his prices. He almost always was able to com-
262 pletely sell out the last of his load in Sanlei. Villag-
178 ers generally felt that there had not been significant changes in the absolute quantity of vegetables consumed, but there had been great changes in the variety used and that people now ate more out-of-season and fresh vegeta-
262 bles. This was probably true but it seemed to us that

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 There are more opportunities for females than males
362 to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.